

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-12
HA-05 OMB-01 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 AID-05 /096 W
-----087460 031838Z /43

O 031715Z APR 78 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7590
INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
PUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE 7751
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 4133

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY)
SUBJECT: MUGABE AGREES TO RHODESIA SCENARIO

1. IN A MEETING THIS AFTERNOON CHAIRED BY JOE GARBA (SUPPORTED BY AMBASSADOR AKADIRI AND PERSONAL ASSISTANT BRONSON DEDE), AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND U.K. HIGH COMMISSIONER FALLE DISCUSSED THE NEXT STEPS ON RHODESIA WITH ROBERT MUGABE (SUPPORTED BY TWO CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS). OTHER PARTICIPANTS WERE AMBASSADORS MCHENRY AND EASUM.

2. MUGABE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO THE PROPOSED TWO MEETINGS, I.E., A MEETING OF THE MALTA PARTIES AT DAR ES SALAAM
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APRIL 15-16 (WITH A POSSIBLE EXTENSION TO THE 17TH) TO BE FOLLOWED BY AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING STARTING APRIL 25 AT A PLACE TO BE DECIDED.

3. FALLE EXPLAINED TO MUGABE THAT DAVID OWEN HAD TELEPHONED HIM HIS AGREEMENT TO THIS SCENARIO, AND THAT SECRETARY VANCE WAS ALSO IN AGREEMENT. THE AGENDA FOR

THE FIRST MEETING WOULD BE 'TO CARRY ON WHERE WE LEFT OFF IN MALTA,' THAT IS, TO DISCUSS MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. FALLE INDICATED THAT JOHN GRAHAM AND STEVE LOW WOULD WISH TO TALK WITH MUGABE AND NKOMO ABOUT THE DETAILS OF THE MEETING, AND THAT THEY WANTED TO BE ON THEIR WAY BY THE 6TH OF APRIL. THE FIRST MEETING WOULD INCLUDE PARTICIPATION BY THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA IN VIEW OF THEIR CLOSE INVOLVEMENT IN THE MATTER.

4. AFTER WHAT SEEMED TO ME A SOMEWHAT DEFENSIVE AND SELF-SERVING EXPLANATION OF PF ATTITUDES IN THE LIGHT OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT, INCLUDING A RECITAL OF THE PF'S UNHAPPINESS WITH AN ATTEMPT BY DR. OWEN AND SECRETARY VANCE TO CREATE A POST-MALTA FORUM THAT 'WOULD MARRY SALIBURY WITH THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN.' MUGABE PUT FORWARD HIS VIEWS OF HOW A TWO-STATE DISCUSSION SHOULD BE STRUCTURED. THE FIRST STAGE WOULD INVOLVE THE PARTIES ENGAGED IN THE CONFLICT -- I.E., THE U.K., SMITH'S COMMANDERS AND THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. ACCORDING TO MUGABE, THESE WERE THE ONLY PARTIES CAPABLE AND LEGITIMATELY CALLED UPON TO DISCUSS MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MATTERS. THE SECOND MEETING SHOULD INVOLVE 'ALL THE OTHER PARTIES', BUT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD NOT ACCEPT OWEN'S POSTULATION THAT THE SALIBURY TEAM COULD NOT BE FRAGMENTED. NEITHER COULD MUGABE ACCEPT THE

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INCLUSION OF CHIRAN. MUGABE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND NIGERIA HELD THE SAME VIEW. ONLY THE GENEVA PARTIES SHOULD BE INVITED TO THE SECOND MEETING.

5. AMBASSADOR YOUNG ASKED MUGABE WHAT SUBJECTS HE THOUGHT SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AT THE FIRST MEETING. MUGABE REPLIED 'THE THINGS WE DISCUSSED AT MALTA.' SPECIFICALLY, HE CITED THE POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER. HE SAID 'WE WANT TO LEARN U.K. THINKING AND COMPARE IT WITH OURS.' A SECOND ISSUE FOR DISCUSSION WOULD BE THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS. A THIRD WOULD BE THE 'STRUCTURES' OF THE ARMY, THE POLICE, AND THE ARMED FORCES IN GENERAL.

6. WHEN ASKED WHETHER THE COMPOSITION OF THE UN FORCES MIGHT BE INCLUDED FOR DISCUSSION, MUGABE SAID YES BUT BACKTRACKED LATER WHEN GARBA OBSERVED THAT THIS SORT OF QUESTION OUGHT TO BE DECIDED SUBSEQUENTLY BY THE UNITED NATIONS. REGARDING LEGISLATION CONCERNING THE STRUCTURE OF THE MILITARY FORCES, MUGABE SUGGESTED THIS BE TALKED ABOUT IN THE FIRST MEETING. WHEN ASKED TO CLARIFY WHAT HE MEANT, HE SAID THAT HIS REFERENCE TO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 4133

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

LEGISLATION WAS LIMITED TO LAWS RELATED TO
MILITARY FORCES DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

7. AMBASSADOR YOUNG RAISED THE QUESTION TO AMNESTY, ASKING
MUGABE WHETHER HE WOULD WISH TO COMMENT ON WHETHER IT
SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE AGENDA. MUGABE LAUGHED, SAYING
THIS WAS "JUST A DETAIL" AND SAID "WE CAN PRAY FOR SMITH."
WHEN AMBASSADOR YOUNG CITED THE WAY SMITH WAS EXPLOITING
MUGABE'S STATEMENTS ON THE MATTER, AND NOTED THE UNDER-
STANDABLE CONCERN OF BLACK MEMBERS OF THE RHODESIAN ARMY,
MUGABE SAID THAT WHEN HE HAD MENTIONED "HANGING", HE HAD
IN MIND "ONLY THE CHIEF ACTORS, SMITH AND HIS CABINET."
HE THEN CONSENTED TO AMNESTY BEING INCLUDED IN ANY
ANNOUNCEMENT OF TOPICS FOR THE DISCUSSION.

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8. YOUNG THEN ALLUDED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF BUILDING INTERNATIONAL OPINION AND SUPPORT ON BEHALF OF THE PROPOSED MEETINGS. HE OBSERVED THAT BOTH THE US AND THE UK HAD TO THINK ABOUT WAYS OF NEUTRALIZING THE RIGHT WING. HE SAID HE HOPED MUGABE WOULDN'T MIND ANOTHER TOUGH QUESTION. THAT WAS WHETHER IT CREATED PROBLEMS FOR MUGABE SHOULD "CEASE-FIRE" BE INCLUDED ON THE AGENDA. MUGABE SAID THAT HIS FIGHTERS WOULD NOT LIKE HIM TO ACCEPT A MEETING WHOSE MAJOR PURPOSE WOULD SEEM TO BE TO FORCE THEM TO LAY DOWN THEIR ARMS. HE AGREED THAT THE MEETING COULD BE BILLED AS DESIGNED TO "EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITIES OF MOVEMENT FROM WAR TO PEACE." YOUNG SAID SUCH A POSTULATION WOULD BE USEFUL. YOUNG SUGGESTED THAT MILITARY COMMANDERS MIGHT MEET IN THE DAR ES SALAAM SESSIONS WITHOUT THEIR CIVILIAN BOSSES. HE THOUGHT THE PRECEDENT MIGHT BE USEFUL IN PREPARING THE STAGE FOR EVENTUAL MEETINGS WITH SMITH'S MILITARY COMMANDERS WITHOUT SMITH. MUGABE SEEMED SOMEWHAT COOL TO THE IDEA BUT DID NOT COMMENT.

9. YOUNG REQUESTED MUGABE TO LET US KNOW AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND BEFORE GRAHAM AND LOW STARTED THEIR TRAVELS, THE PRINCIPAL DIFFICULTIES OR STICKING POINTS MUGABE ENVISAGED FOR THE FIRST MEETING. MUGABE WAS NONCOMMITTAL, STATING THAT IT WOULD TAKE TIME FOR HIM TO CONSULT WITH HIS COLLEAGUES AND NKOMO.

10. MUGABE DID NOT KNOW WHERE NKOMO WAS. HE SAID HE (MUGABE) WAS ON HIS WAY APRIL 3 TO MAPUTO AND PERHAPS DAR ES SALAAM BUT MIGHT ADJUST HIS PLANS IF WE COULD GET NKOMO TOGETHER WITH HIM. WE SAID WE WOULD TRY. ACTION: EMBASSIES MAPUTO, DAR ES SALAAM, LUSAKA AND GABORONE PLEASE CONFIDENTIAL

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TRY TO GET WORD TO MUGABE IF YOU SUCCEED IN LOCATING NKOMO.

1. MUGABE CONFIRMED THAT HE SAW NO PROBLEM IN AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING INCLUDING SMITH, BUT HE MADE QUITE CLEAR THAT HE WOULD HAVE PROBLEMS WITH CHIRAU'S ATTENDANCE. HE IMPLIED HE WOULD NOT COME TO ANY MEETING TO WHICH THE BRITISH SPECIFICALLY INVITED CHIRAU. HE WAS SOMEWHAT EQUIVOCAL CONCERNING A MEETING TO WHICH CHIRAU WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN SPECIFICALLY INVITED BUT WHICH CHIRAU ATTENDED AS PART OF SMITH'S DELEGATION. YOUNG SAID HE DID NOT RPT NOT THINK CHIRAU WOULD BE INVITED TO THE MEETING. HE STRESSED HIS HOPE THAT IF SMITH BROUGHT CHIRAU WITH HIM, IT WOULD NOT BREAK UP THE MEETING.

12. MUGABE EXPRESSED NO VIEWS ON WHERE THE SECOND MEETING SHOULD BE HELD. WE EXPLAINED THAT MAURITIUS, MALTA AND LUSAKA WERE AMONG SUGGESTED POSSIBILITIES.
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